

## THAT BRIEF.

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A document containing some four score pages, which the author calls "a brief," and signed "A. M. Gibson, attorney for the Mormon People," is in circulation. While it is not entitled to an exhaustive review, perhaps a brief notice of some of its purported statements of fact may not be out of place.

Attacks from such a source upon such gentlemen as Senator Edmunds, those composing the Supreme Court of the United States, and the district attorney, judges, and late governor of Utah, need no reply. Neither do the opinions of the writer of the brief, for there is no present evidence that his opinions have thus far been held of material importance either by lawyers or any other class of honorable men; but, accompanying his assaults, are misstatements of matters pertaining to a far-off territory, and some of these need correction.

To compare the efforts being made to suppress what is illegal in the Mormon system to the persecutions which in former times were heaped upon Christian churches, is altogether a mistake, for one represents merely the attempts being made to enforce necessary laws, the others were but exhibitions of the hate and intolerance of creeds. The brief asserts that public sentiment in the United States opposes the Mormon Church. If this were true it would be a serious arraignment of that church, for public sentiment when once fairly crystalized is never at fault; but in reality public sentiment is only opposed to what is illegal

in the Mormon system, and the cause is most ample to produce the effect.

Judge Black is quoted as saying :

"A mere sin against God is beyond the reach of legislation, but any overt act detrimental to society may be forbidden."

Reasonable prudence on the part of the author of the brief would have made him hesitate before using that quotation in that connection, for when the law establishes a crime and furnishes a punishment for it, at the same time it holds accessories before and after the act as also criminal. As accessories, stand the whole Mormon People, and to that position they are bound by the most solemn oath. George Q. Cannon was expelled from Congress for having four wives. John T. Caine took the vacant seat, but John T. Caine believes that a man must have plural wives in order to obtain full exaltation in paradise. He teaches this belief to his children ; he gives his blessing to those who break their country's laws to enter into this state. In his newspaper he upbraids Mormons who, when arraigned, promise to henceforth refrain from breaking the laws. Is Caine entitled to more consideration than Cannon was ? To judge correctly we need only apply the case to some other crime than polygamy. A gentleman who might appropriate a band of his neighbor's horses would have a bad name doubtless, but he certainly would be entitled to as much consideration as the man who taught his children that the most legitimate occupation on earth was horse stealing.

This brief assumes that there is an intention or desire to overthrow the Mormon Church. The answer is that all that has ever been asked of Mormons is that they shall bring their creed within the necessary laws which all good

men submit to without question. The Mormon chiefs practice and teach polygamy; they make promotion in their creed and business subject to a willingness to defy the Republic's laws; they assume, moreover, the right to exercise absolute political control and dominion over their people. They make the State the absolute vassal of a creed; they kill free thought; they debase men and degrade women, and until these things shall be given up, public sentiment will continue to grow stronger and stronger against them; for more and more certain will be manifested their design to uprear within this Republic a despotism on the ancient Asiatic model of tyranny and crime.

The brief is very bitter toward the new Edmund's bill, because, with it a law, there would be a possible chance of making the Mormon Church disgorge some of the property which it has illegally acquired, and on which no taxes have ever been paid. But could this be accomplished, which by the way is greatly doubted, it would after all be only justice; and the appropriation of the amount to the education of the neglected children of Utah, as proposed, would be a merciful thing.

The statement that no serious effort was made to enforce the law against polygamy for twenty years after its passage is a clear proof that the author of the brief has been shamefully imposed upon. There was no way to try such cases except by juries composed at least in part of Mormons; no means of obtaining evidence; and, in those years, judges, prosecuting attorneys, and marshals by the score almost, were bribed, bulldozed, or driven out of the country to make convictions impossible.

The case of Reynolds, as stated in the brief, is a pitiable perversion of facts. It, in effect, charges that the then President of the United States was guilty of double dealing, for he was the only person who could have made the

arrangement described. But in point of fact the most determined efforts were made by the Mormon authorities to prevent conviction; the witnesses were secreted; high church officials resorted to the most appalling perjury, and the final evidence to convict was only obtained by a clever strategy.

The brief refers to "the small, restless, and unscrupulous non-Mormon minority" in Utah. The simple truth is, that minority is composed of as intelligent and conservative people as exist anywhere on this continent. The proof of this statement is easily supplied. They have never wronged or sought to wrong a Mormon in person or property, though from Mormons they have suffered spoliation, wrongs, insult, mutilation, robbery, and murder by scores and hundreds, and no man in Utah has ever insisted upon his right to entertain and express his views and to assert that the laws should be obeyed, who has not been hounded by unrelenting abuse, and lied about in a way to make the dust of Ananias turn in its ancient sepulchre through jealousy of the peculiar talent displayed?

That "small minority" found the Mormons desperately poor except in land. They took from the hills \$80,000,000 in gold and silver. A large proportion of this they have paid to the Mormons for supplies and labor--so much that it has made the Mormons rich. Though they are as but 1 to 4 of the people, they own quite two-fifths of the property of the Territory, and pay quite one-half the taxes. They have given thousands of Mormons employment, and paid invariably in gold. But no Mormon has ever given one of them either employment or encouragement. Rather, they have sought by every means to ruin them in business, and to make their stay uncomfortable. Neither have the minority lied about the saints as charged, except in failing to tell the whole truth. The full truth must be felt; it

cannot all be told. No community east of the Rocky Mountains would tolerate for a month what the Mormons in Utah practice without there being kindled a civil war. It should not be forgotten that before polygamy was a tenet of the Mormon faith, there was something in the system which the people of the Eastern States could not bear. One by one the men of four States rose up and drove them out.

It is true that the Gentiles, in the interest of their country and as a last resort, have sought, and are still seeking, to have the political power of the Mormons taken away. So anxious are they that they have petitioned Congress to assert its sovereign power and right to rule the Territory of Utah, and to disfranchise Mormons and Gentiles alike. They have asked this because the Mormon Church is a political government within the United States, and no Mormon can be a real citizen of the United States because his highest fealty is surrendered to another power.

Every month that Congress neglects this duty some scores of illegal marriages are solemnized in Utah; some hundreds of innocent children are born into the world with a brand of shame on their baby brows.

This brief asserts that "it was not until on the eve of the presidential contest of 1884 that a serious effort was made to enforce the law against polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. It was not until then that a governor, judge, prosecuting attorney, and marshal were found in accord, and all anxious to do their duty; and not until then that the power of the courts to exclude Mormons from juries, in cases wherein their creed was involved, was established.

The case of Lorenzo Snow is touchingly instanced in the brief as one of peculiar injustice. A knowledge of the facts will enable every American to contemplate his

polygamy are not permitted to go out as jurors in

fate with remarkably dry eyes. Snow showed his respect for the laws and his love of country by becoming a polygamist in Nauvoo, before Jo. Smith was killed. He belongs to the oldest race of Mormon law-breakers. When the Edmunds law was passed he continued to hold his wives out to the world as his wives, continued to teach polygamy as a right despite the laws. If he made any change in his domestic relations no one knew the fact, and while it was clear that his physical capacity was somewhat impaired, no one doubted that his will was just as firm and his intentions just as sinister as when he first defied the laws in Nauvoo. When rightfully and righteously convicted he refused to cease teaching polygamy, preferring to go to the penitentiary. Decent people will hardly cry their eyes out over the result.

The lamentation of the brief, that men who believe in polygamy cases, no matter if they swear that their belief would not influence their verdict, is, under the facts, hardly entitled to serious consideration. To shield Mormon prisoners, Mormons are taught that perjury is an act of celestial grace. The apostles have over and over set the example.

When a woman will declare under oath—as women have in Utah—that the child on her knee is her child but that she does not know who the father of the child is, that child when grown to man's estate will hardly make a reliable juror. If a man charged with arson were to insist that it would be unjust to place him on trial except before a jury of house-burners, it would hardly be in order to censure the court if the prayer, no matter how touchingly made, should be denied. The brief says: "The law against unlawful cohabitation affects as a rule only those who are not amenable to prosecution for bigamy and polygamy. The great majority are old men."

This is not true, more polygamious marriages have been solemnized since the passage of the Edmunds law than had been in half a dozen previous years.

The brief assumes to be horrified that the word "co-habit" is construed by the Utah courts and the Supreme Court of the United States to mean what the dictionary makes it mean; and that adultery is not punished by the Utah courts. A case is cited where a Gentile guilty of that crime was on the proof dismissed. Had the full truth been stated, there would have been added the fact that a Mormon guilty of the same crime was likewise dismissed a day or two later, that the reason in both cases was that the Edmunds law does not apply to that class of crimes, and under the Mormon statutes of Utah there is no punishment for any sexual crime save one. Mr. Edmunds naturally did not include in his bill a punishment for a crime which all the police courts in the land, except under the benign laws of Utah, deal with. More, that crime was once an offence under Mormon laws, but was eliminated from the statutes in order to shield brutal Mormons from punishment.

The statement of the cases against the commissioners is altogether misleading. They were in the main sustained but in one class of cases the court found that they had exceeded their authority.

The calling upon a first wife to testify in polygamy trials, which the brief denounces so bitterly, is but carrying into effect a Mormon statute which reads that a husband shall not testify against a wife or a wife against a husband except when one wrongs the other. Enlightened people will decide readily whether or not a husband wrongs his wife when he deliberately marries and lives with another woman, or with half a dozen other women.

The officers of Utah, particularly the chief-justice and

prosecuting attorney, are vehemently assailed in this brief. No nobler men or more perfect gentlemen than these two exist on this planet. No one unfamiliar with the spirit that rules with the majority in Utah can form any possible idea of the difficulties which surround them. The proof of their consummate ability is shown by the fact that their every important act has been sustained by the calm deliberation of the highest court in the Republic.

The brief complains that the new Edmunds bill provides for the punishment of plural wives, and that it disfranchises Mormon women. Why should not a woman be punished when she usurps a wife's place, and why should women or men be permitted to lay slave hands upon a free American ballot, simply to cast it as they are bidden to by false priests? It is true that Mormon women have enjoyed the franchise for fifteen years. But they have never voted, except to dishonor the country which protects them. Thousands of them have voted in the year of their arrival in Utah. Not one of them has ever so much as taken an oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States. Every one of them has taken an oath of fealty to the Mormon power, temporal as well as spiritual, and of hostility to the Republic. In order to vote, they have only to take an oath that they are twenty-one years of age, a citizen of the United States, "or are the wife, widow, or daughter of a citizen." They never vote except as they are instructed how, and thousands of them have no more comprehension of the significance of the act than a Shoshone savage has of Sanscrit. They take the ballot from their priests and cast it. There has not been a scratched vote among them since the franchise was given them. Were Lucifer on their ticket and the Messiah on an opposition ticket, the Saviour would on election day be more terribly crucified than He was before. The brief cites the fact that 70 convictions have



been obtained under the Edmunds law, and seeks to convey the impression that there is no difficulty in obtaining Mormon witnesses. Twelve thousand Mormons have been disfranchised for polygamy, and hundreds have entered that State within the past three years. Why have only some 70 been convicted? Simply because the proof to convict could not be obtained; the "overt acts" which the brief demands being hidden by the filth and perjury of Mormonism, even as the cuttle-fish, when in danger, conceals himself under his own ink.

The necessity of a law compelling the production of records is made clear by the fact—which the records of Utah courts abundantly confirm—that the men who have performed most of the illegal marriages in Utah have sworn that they knew nothing of any record of such marriages.

The assertion that "social vice is unknown in strictly Mormon communities" is simply appalling. A moment's reflection ought to be sufficient to satisfy any one on that point. The cement of the wall on which Mormonism rests is animalism. It is taught from the cradle up. Little girls are imbued with it from early childhood as the only means through which their salvation can be attained. Little boys are taught that celestial glory does not come through great hearts and magnificent brains, or through lives of self-abnegation, charity, and love, but through their capacity and willingness to emulate the brutes. All their teachers bear testimony to the truth of this on every public occasion. The examples of embroiled fathers, and of mothers whose highest and holiest instincts have all been outraged, are perpetually before them. What must the natural result be? What but one result could follow? What must be the impressions which are most firmly fixed on their plastic hearts? We need but cite a case or two. Four years ago a purchased knave wrote a letter to the New York

*World* describing, with unspeakable gush, a town (of some 1,200 inhabitants) in Utah which had never been contaminated by Gentile influences—a perfect Arcadia, where all was peace and purity. In that same town there had not been a marriage during the preceding three years that had not been followed, in from two to six months, by the birth of a child to the happy but too previous pair.

Three years ago a young woman committed suicide in Salt Lake City. She would have become a mother within a few months. Her ruin was at first charged upon a Gentile, who was at the time absent from the city, and the *News*, the organ of the Church, was furious in its denunciations of him. Hearing of the charge he at once returned and established his innocence, and when the matter was perused it was found that the dead girl and six others had been made drunk and were debauched at a Mormon ball in Salt Lake City a few months before—at a ball which was opened by prayer and at which no Gentile was present. By the way, the *News* has never referred to the case since the facts were made known. Nothing in any other small city of the Union can compare in depravity to what can be seen on a Mormon night bathing train to Great Salt Lake.

The brief, continuing, says: "As the Gentile population of Salt Lake City grew the leper houses made their appearance and flourished." This is true, but it does not carry the idea intended by the writer. It was not because of Mormon purity that they were not there sooner. Before the Gentiles went there the circulating medium in Salt Lake City was composed of grain and vegetables. Those houses are not carried on in that kind of currency. But at that time a daughter of Brigham Young visited San Francisco, where a person said to her: "I believe there are no houses of ill-fame in Salt Lake City?" Her reply was:

"No, not public houses; but if a roof were placed over the whole city it would be but one mighty house of prostitution." The testimony of the keepers of those houses in Utah is that their best and staunchest patrons are Mormons, and Mormon girls are continually asking for admission. The keeper of one of those houses has for her "best man" a son of one of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, and this young man by the way, is a married man. He tells her with touching pathos that he loves her better than anything in the world except his holy religion.

By the foregoing I mean no general indictment of the Mormon people, but only to establish that, as men and women are generally mere creatures of education, Utah is no exception to the rule, and hence there is a larger proportion of mean men and lost women produced by Mormon teaching than come of the teachings of christian communities.

The idea is sought to be conveyed by this brief that the Mormons have sought desperately to suppress these houses. The answer is, from the first the Mormons have held entire territorial and municipal control over Utah, and a statute three lines in length would have settled the matter years ago. The truth is, the Mormon authorities have never desired their suppression. The revenues received from those houses have been too sweet to permit of the thought of suppressing them. The Federal courts have never, as charged in the brief, interfered in the business except to prevent those poor women from being abused after having been robbed.

The brief gives a purported account of the exploits of Brig. Hampton. The exact facts are as follow: Hampton has for years been universally recognized as the perfectly willing and obedient tool of the Mormon Church chiefs. His reputation has been that of one ready at all times to

perform any service, no matter how revolting or criminal, that his "pious" superiors might direct. Last summer, doubtless under orders from those same superiors, he entered into a conspiracy to entrap if possible the leading Federal officials and prominent gentile citizens of Salt Lake city. Means were supplied him and he proceeded to San Francisco, and employed "a daughter of Babylon" there, advancing her a retainer of several hundred dollars to go to Salt Lake city, and the contract was that she was to follow implicitly his instructions on arriving there. The woman kept the money, but at the last moment refused to leave the city, and the agent of the "Holy Church" returned to Zion with new and sorrowful impressions of the innate wickedness of unregenerated womankind. But still intent upon his conspiracy, he employed two notorious women of Salt Lake city; one of them an ex-Mormon wife, the other a woman who had just arrived from a neighboring State. He assisted them to secure and furnish houses in a respectable part of the city, and offered them heavy bribes if they would entice the governor and other officials into their dens. Apertures were made in the partitions of these houses, and in rooms adjoining the apartments of these women. Hampton and his associates, who were chiefly the Salt Lake police, watched what transpired. This was carried on for weeks to entrap the men who were wanted. The women, by sending notes and calling at houses and under every form of pretext known to fallen women, exhausted their inventive powers to secure the persons desired by their "pious" employer. The result was that one deputy-marshal and a few obscure citizens were finally accused. It was as though an effort had been made in this city to entrap the President, the Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the two houses of Congress and leading citizens, and the final result revealed that only

one deputy sergeant-at-arms of the house and a few outside obscure citizens had been involved. So shameless was the conspiracy and so impotent were its results that decent Mormons were humiliated and disgusted as they had never been before. Some complaints were sworn out, a few arrests made; but the Mormon sheriff finally declared that he would resign his office before serving such papers. A few cases were tried in the church police court and appealed. When they reached the District Court the prosecuting attorney declined to prosecute on the ground that men who would do what the Mormon witnesses testified that they had done were utterly unworthy of belief. The judge sustained that view and very properly dismissed the cases.

Hampton was indicted for conspiracy, tried and convicted, and all respectable Mormons applauded the verdict. The sequel should also be stated. The man who supplied most of the money for the conspiracy was, by order of the First Presidency of the Mormon church, made mayor of Salt Lake city at the February election, and the miserable wretch who was Hampton's chief spy and witness, was at the same election made chief of police. I have stated the foregoing at length to give strangers a clear idea of the "pure" ways of the infamous system.

But this brief proceeds to say: "Immediately before the assembling of Congress, a meeting was held in the Walker House, and arrangements made to have sensational and wholly untruthful dispatches sent to eastern newspapers representing a Mormon uprising as imminent. The governor of the Territory carried out his part of the conspiracy by telegraphing the President the most villainous lies and representing an urgent necessity for additional troops to be quartered in the city. A deputy-marshal and a Mormon had met in an alley and the latter struck

at the former, who thereupon shot and desperately wounded his assailant. It was simply a street brawl." Such a statement as the foregoing, purporting to be a truthful account of what really transpired, is something awful. The facts are as follows: One Saturday night a deputy-marshal named Collin, a very small man, was going to his home which was situated in a narrow alley running through one of the ten-acre blocks into which Salt Lake city is divided. While in the act of serving official papers a few days previous, he had been set upon and shamefully beaten by a Mormon bully—a deputy-sheriff. The bully had been arrested and fined, and the friends of Collin, who knew Mormon ways, had warned him to be on his guard. So, on that particular Saturday night, before reaching the alley, he changed his pistol from his hip-pocket to his side coat pocket, and had his hand upon his weapon as he entered the alley. He found four assassins in the alley—two on each side. He tried to pass between them when one, who proved to be a church officer—a night watchman of the ~~lighting~~ yards named McMurrin—stepped out and struck him a glancing blow with his club, and then closed with him, seizing him around the neck. McMurrin was almost twice the size of Collin, and as he seized him he drew him close, the intention doubtless being to kill Collin, as so many other men have been killed there, without noise, and then to charge the murder on the Gentiles next morning. But happily Collin fired two shots in rapid succession into the brute's abdomen which changed the situation in a moment. McMurrin released his grip, and throwing up his arms cried, "My God, boys, he will kill us all." Collin proceeded to his home, reloaded his weapon, and then went and delivered himself up to his chief.

There never was a clearer case of attempted assassination. Passers-by saw the men in the alley previous to the

*Nothing*

shooting Just after the shooting two were seen to run out of the alley at one end, and one at the other, while McMurrin was found on the ground.

There was also found three hats in the alley, and the marks of pistol bullets of a different calibre from those carried by the weapons of either McMurrin or Collin, but the Mormon press charged that it was a deliberate attempt to murder on the part of Collin. McMurrin was described as the very pink of peacefulness and piety, and every possible effort was made to lash the Mormon people into fury over the affair. The excitement was very great. It was the third outburst of Mormon lawlessness which had occurred within a few months. It was in the midst of the Hampton infamy. It was after the Mormon press had been covertly inciting murder and riot for months. The wrath of the Mormon police, that they had not secured Collin and murdered him before he could give his testimony, was great. It was known that Geo. Q. Cannon had given orders to have Collin taken from the Federal officials when he should be brought up for examination—which meant simply that he was to be killed. There were other manifest signs of approaching trouble. The Mormons were four to one of the Gentiles, they had full control of the police and the civil government of the city and Territory; it was known that they had plenty of arms, and it has long been their boast that they can within half an hour after the ringing of the city hall bell have 2,000 men under arms. This was the condition of affairs when, on the Monday night after the affair, the meeting was held at the Walker House.

It was composed of as good and true and brave men as live anywhere; they represented the very best men of Utah; they were as sterling men as live, and as little liable to be carried off their feet in an emergency; they dictated

no false dispatches; they did nothing to create a sensation. All they did was simply through the plainest dictation of prudence. Neither did Governor Murray send any false dispatches or do anything else not absolutely required of a brave, careful, and just executive. I believe, too, that he called in counsel General Alexander McD. McCook, commander of Fort Douglass, a soldier who does not bear the reputation of becoming panicky in the presence of danger. (The flash dispatches referred to by the brief originated in the brain of some Omaha Bohemian; no one beyond the Rocky Mountains was responsible for them.) A company of the 6th Infantry was ordered from Fort Douglass to be stationed in the city—something which should have been done years ago—and a section of a battery, which had already been detailed for that service, was at once ordered from Omaha to Camp Douglass. General Howard was in Salt Lake during the excitement caused by the dishonor cast upon the flag the 4th of last July. He understands Mormon ways perfectly, and he notified the commanders of troops along the line from Omaha west to hold their forces in readiness to move if necessary. Of course, whatever mischief had been intended was baffled, and then the cry of persecution was at once raised, and all the reservoirs of slander and falsehood were drained to make it appear that a persecuted and God-fearing people were being reviled. (By the way, the Mormon creed has no God, except Adam.) The wounded McMurrin did not die. Rather, on the day that his medical adviser was testifying in court that he could not be moved without placing his life in imminent danger, he virtually confessed his guilt by disappearing. Since then he has been heard of but once. He returned to his home one night and the neighbors were made aware of his presence by the cries of his wife whom he unmercifully beat, and then again disappeared.



The records of history, and the present condition of affairs in Utah, supply a flat denial to the assertion of the brief that "the purpose was not to build up an overshadowing ecclesiastical power" in that Territory. There the State is but the abject vassal of a creed, and the church power is so all-controlling that a direction from the first presidency in Salt Lake would be held of more binding force, by the delegate who represents that creed in the Congress of the United States, than would be any law of the Republic, though it had been passed upon and approved by all three branches of this Government.

The citations in the brief, by way of comparison with what christian creeds have done in the past, do not count in this connection, for the Mormon creed is a dual affair, a system which not only assumes to deal with the souls of men, but it is a complete temporal government within and hostile in every attribute to the Government of the United States; an absolute despotism with its own king, and counsellors, and courts, and its decrees are enforced by a power which comes of perfect discipline backed by superstitious fears. It uses the forms of a republic merely because that is the easiest way to prostitute a free American ballot and to make of no avail necessary laws.

The "defence fund," which the brief asserts was supplied by "the Mormon people by voluntary subscriptions, was ordered by the First Presidency through the chief political executive committee of the Mormon people. It was but a command by the Church to the State. In it the people were advised not to plead guilty when arrested, the whole purpose was to defeat the execution of the laws and to prevent further legislation. There are indications that some of that fund is being used right here.

The argument against breaking up the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company can be met completely by the state-

ment of a single fact. The Mormon Church receives its foreign recruits through this fund. Thousands are lured to Utah annually by means of it. When once there they are supplied with homes, (for which their notes are taken,) and they are taught at the same time, even when they settle on public lands, that it is all due to the mercy of the Mormon Church, and in spite of the Government of the United States. The generosity of the United States is used to supply the first lessons of disloyalty to the ignorant immigrant.

The reference in the brief to "Mormon loyalty and devotion to the Government" must be either a stupendous joke or it is the government of the Mormon Church that is meant. There is not a Mormon alive whose first allegiance is to the United States.

The assertion that "in general intelligence, industry, thrift, sobriety, honesty, and good morals" the writer of the brief has "never met the equals of the Mormons," if true, supplies a lamentable picture of the company which the said writer must, all his life have kept, and, perhaps, makes tolerably clear certain imperfectly veiled proclivities of his which are dimly seen in the brief.

I would not if I could make light of the hardships the Mormon pioneers suffered in going to Utah. But to say they made "an unparalleled journey" is simply ridiculous. Others by hundreds were making the same journey and continuing a thousand miles further through the waste to Oregon. The sufferings of the Mormons did not compare with those of the men and women who subdued the forests between the Atlantic and the prairies. They settled in a valley, where their tired animals became sleek and fat sooner than they would in the richest clover field; where the soil was as rich as any in the temperate zone, and soil, too, so easily subdued that three hundred days' work of a

man and team were sufficient to perfectly clear, plow, plant, and prepare for irrigation a farm of 160 acres.

The "generosity" which the Mormons extended to California emigrants consisted in exchanging mustangs for blood horses, vegetables and grain for needed groceries and gold, and not unfrequently in "welcoming the strangers with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

The statement that "they contributed 520 of their able-bodied men to help seize and hold California" is a falsehood which obtains no dignity by age, but which seems to survive in all its original infamy, no matter how often it may be nailed to the cross. Because of Mormon crimes the quiet farmers of Illinois had arisen and driven them out, leaving them stranded and naked. A delegation of them, headed by Jessie Little, came to Washington, told the then President of their extremity; that their desire was to go to California; that they were totally unable to move, and begged that a battalion might be enlisted and sent through to the golden coast. Though every State of the Union was offering volunteers for the army by thousands, as an act of mercy the administration yielded to the mendicant prayer, supplied the men with arms and rations, and ordered them to proceed West.

California had already been captured; they did not fire a gun, did not expect to fire a gun when they enlisted. When they reached Santa Fé three months' wages were paid them. This money was carried back by John D. Lee to Brigham Young, instead of to the soldiers' families. With it, Young fitted out the pioneer train which went through to Utah. The battalion was paid off and disbanded when they reached California—the country which from the first they had desired to reach. But though Little's statement of all the facts as given above is on file, from that day to this the Mormon chiefs have taught their

people that when starving and in despair the Government forced five hundred of their strong young men into the army and thus completed their misfortunes. By such lessons is Mormon love for the United States inculcated in ignorant Mormon hearts.

The brief is just as much at fault touching the local government and the schools of Utah. The officials are often incompetent and dishonest; the school-houses are nearly every one meeting-houses, and the schools are as poor as can be found on the continent. As a rule the teachers could not obtain a certificate to teach in any eastern State. At the same time no eastern teacher, however accomplished, could obtain employment to teach in a Mormon school, even if he was starving, unless he would first agree that Jos. Smith was a prophet. As a specimen of the integrity of Mormon officials, I will cite a single incident. Many of the counties of Utah are indebted to the Territory in large sums. When a motion was made in the legislature to institute proceedings to collect these debts, member after member arose, and explained that the money had been appropriated but that county treasurers had stolen the funds, and as their bonds were worthless asked that the debts be forgiven. They did it, too, apparently in perfect good faith, as though it was the proper thing. To show how money is appropriated, some strictly Mormon counties are drawing from the territorial treasury, on account of the school funds, more money than they pay altogether into the treasury. The object is simply to rob Gentiles.

But why pursue this brief further? After all it supplies its own best answer. Think of a church whose chiefs assume to be in daily communion with the Most High—to think with His thoughts and to speak His words—forced to coin the sweat drops of slaves and to pour it out to employ attorneys to defend it, and that the defence as offered is

but a tissue of unparaelled but transparent falsehoods, which include not only libels upon history but venomous arraignments of not only the highest officers of the local government of Utah, but of the highest court and ablest statesmen, and all the decent people who make the public opinion of the republic. Is it not plain enough that some features of the creed are in direct antagonism to civilization ?

It is clear that this attorney is merely stuffed, for his brief, in its main statements, is but a repetition of a part of what is preached in the tabernacle at Salt Lake. The part omitted is simply that which accuses Congressmen as a rule of being practical polygamists ; but lacking in that divine grace which, with the Latter-Day Saints, converts lust into a holy sacrament. It is true that this attorney volunteers some fancy sketches of his own ; but that is doubtless merely to hint to his clients that if ever the volume of their vituperation fails, his inventive genius can always be relied upon.

Why is such a defence necessary ? Why has every man, who has ever, in or out of Utah, dared to express the belief that what is punished as a felony in all other portions of the Republic, ought not to be treated as an act of grace in Utah, been hounded by all the power and all the liars of the Mormon Church as a monster ? It is simply because the Mormon chiefs are determined to be a law unto themselves. In the same breath they profess their loyalty and claim the right, "the divine right," to appeal from any judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States to a higher court of their own, and to determine for themselves what laws they will obey and what deride. The Supreme Court years ago affirmed a judgment in a polygamy case ; but last summer the first presidency of the Mormon Church ordered a petition to be sent to the President,

which, when closely read is but a protest against the execution of that law. Religious liberty they construe to mean a license to commit any crime they please so long as they call it religion. Liberty controlled by law is something they are determined never to accept.

The Americans of Utah ask that the despotism which controls there shall be broken by taking the political power from those chiefs. This is due the women and children of Utah, the sacred homes of America, and the sovereignty of this Republic. If this brief is worthy of the slightest attention, then polygamy should be made universal, for the plea is really for the right of Mormons to do as they please. If the saints are oppressed, as it affirms, then the doors of every penitentiary should be opened and every convict made free.

The arraignment of the officers and the Gentiles of Utah is the weakest count in the brief. The Gentiles have never asked ought, save that the restraint of righteous laws shall prevail there as in other places. The officers are but doing their duty as faithful soldiers on a picket line, assailed by overwhelming and utterly unscrupulous enemies. Utah is a ward of the nation even as the District of Columbia is. Why not govern the two alike, or why not send direct agents of Congress there to vindicate the nation's sovereignty?

Were a hostile army of 150,000 men encamped upon our soil, Congress would see no trouble in taking steps to meet it, but the army camped in the shadow of the Wasatch Mountains is far more hostile to free institutions than any armed invading host could be. Why not meet it like statesmen, on the basis of absolute justice, and vindicate the country's outraged laws?

C. C. GOODWIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 12, 1886.